# **韩**政治民主化转型的力学

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#### 序 言

第二次世界大战之后,第三世界许多新兴国家的兴起,促进了西方学者对发展问题的关注,出现了政治发展理论。二十世纪五六十年代,政治科学家们多用现代化理论来分析政治发展,把政治发展看成现代化过程中的政治领域内的变迁。例如,亨廷顿就认为,政治发展是"现代化的政治性后果"。在路辛·派伊对政治发展的十种解释中,第二点即:"政治发展就是政治的现代化。"在当时,阿尔蒙德的观点亦可归入这一范式。

70年代以后,依附理论提出,在帝国主义存在的条件下,现代化是不可能实现的。还有学者提出,有些国家即使实现了经济的现代化,也并没有出现政治发展。这些新的发现对传统的政治发展理论构成了较大的挑战。因此,70年代以后传统的政治发展理论的分析范式走向衰落。

进入80年代以后,随着南欧,拉美和东亚相继出现的政治转型,因而对政治转型的比较研究又推进了传统的政治发展理论到一个新阶段。亨廷顿把这种转型概括为"民主化浪潮第三波"。亨廷顿认为,现时代的民主转型构成了现代世界上的第三波民主浪潮。民主化的第一次长波始于19世纪20年代,伴随的是在美国选举权扩大到男性人口的大部分。这次浪潮持续了近一个世纪,直到1926年,带来了约29个民主国家。第二次世界大战后,出现了第二波民主化浪潮,并在



1962年达到高峰。约有36个国家实行民主政治。在第三次长波中,从1974年至1990年之间,至少有30个国家实现了迈向民主的转型,使当时世界上的民主政府的数目大约翻了一翻。今日世界上约有60%以上的国家是民主国家。这些国家的领导人是通过自由的,竞争性的差额选举方式产生的。可见这一时期政治发展理论的核心话题对民主政治的关注不但没有衰落,而是发展到一个新阶段。亨廷顿所说的在第三波中实现民主转型的国家中就有韩国。对韩国民主转型的研究显然是很有意义的。

權壞的精英妥协与大众参与——《韩国政治民主化转型的力学》一书不同于一般的民主转型分析,而是从政治力学的角度去研究韩国的民主化进程。这不但有利于充实和检讨第三波民主化浪潮的理论模型,还将有助于我们从另一个角度认清韩国的民主化进程的自身特点,为韩国今后的民主巩固,并为同处于一个文化圈内的东亚各国的民主化提供经验教训。本书从政治力学的角度分析了作为政治民主化动力的学生势力,在野势力,中产阶级,各大政党和基督教会的成长历程及其政治立场,同时还分析了作为政治民主化进程阻力的权威主义政权领导人,军部官僚和资本家阶层的形成及其政治立场。从而在民主化进程的发展阶段,从动力和阻力角度比较清楚地阐明了韩国民主化进程的发展阶段。

本书认为,在韩国民主化进程中,理论上其实只存在着两个大的过程,即从1987年的6月抗争为中心,之前为摆脱军事权威主义政权时期,之后为民主化制度的建立和巩固时期。在韩国民主化进程的推进方式上,明显表现出了西方学者所说的民主化的滞后特征,其原因在于前期民主化过程中的动力不足与阻力过大,而在六月抗争前后,由于各种国内力量的集结和国际力量的介入,又体现了加速民主化的特征。韩国民主化

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的文化基础来自韩国自身的传统文化基础。同时,在韩国民主 化过程中出现了一种新的民主主义的政治文化,这种文化的培 育和加强,对韩国民主化的成功以至进一步发展起重要作用。 本书指出,韩国民主化进程的最大成就是初步建立了一套民主 主义的制度,实现了和平有序地交替政权的规则。

当然,始于精英妥协的韩国民主化进程可能还停留在形式上的民主化阶层,实质上的民主化还需要相当长一段时间的巩固与完善。最近韩国政治坛上的种种现象也表明,韩国的民主化仍然还处于一个重要的巩固阶段,这一民主化的进程并没有终结。但是,中国有句古话:万事开头难。最艰难、最关键的第一步已经迈出了,这是非常难能可贵的。至于以后韩国民主化的前景,应该持乐观态度。

当然,由于韩国民主化进程本身是一种非常复杂的过程。 新近的研究也提出了一些对韩国民主化进程的不同解读。这说明,对韩国民主化进程的研究还有不少值得深入研究的地方。 尽管本书在文献资料方面和分析立论方面还有可以进一步完善的地方,但是无论在理论层面,历史层面,还是现实层面,本书都提出了一些有意思的见解。因此,我非常希望这本精英妥协与大众参与——《韩国政治民主化转型的力学》的出版,能够进一步引起我们对韩国政治民主化转型的力学的深入研究。

孙关宏2004 年 7 月 22 日于复旦大学

序

言

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## 摘 要

摭

韩国人民经过几十年的抗争之后,终于在第三波民主化的 大潮中实现了民主转型。出现在第三波时特点,实 主化进程,既体现了第三波民主化浪潮的某些共同特点, 现了相当大的韩国自身特色。因此,从政治力第三波民主化现 ,还将有利于充实和检讨第三波民主化 潮的民主化进程,不但将有利于充实和检讨第三波民主化 潮的理论模型,还将有助于我们从另一个角度上认清韩国民主化进程的自身特点,理清韩国民主化进程的故东亚各国 化进程的自身特点,理清韩国民主化进程的故东亚各国 化进程的民主化巩固和同处于一个文化圈内的东亚各国 化进程的民主化巩固和同处于一个文化 国外民主化巩固,结合本论文的研究主题及研究方法上的特点,本论文分八章具体展开。

第一章为本论文的导论部分,提出了本论文的研究目的、 意义与方法。作者认为,既然出现在第三波民主化浪潮中国的家国民主化进程体现出了不同于拉美国东和其它第三世界国的家民主化浪潮的某些特点,那么有有不少要有不少。自韩国民主化进程的独特之处。有时,在大量的民主化进程作了大量的研究,重新检过好不完成果的基础上,结合韩国民主化进程中的适用性。因此,本论文选取对等国民主化进程中的政治力学"这一角度去面影响民主化进程,以便于能从一个比较全面综合的角度来形成对韩国民主化进程的新认识。



第二章为韩国政治民主化转型的力学的理论基础。在这一 部分中,作者从民主化的内容与形式、民主化的动力与阻力、 民主化的发展阶段、民主化的途径和民主化成果的巩固等五个 方面,在理论层面上重新回顾和总结了民主化研究的基本理论 成果,并结合韩国的实际情况对这些理论在韩国的适用性问题 作出初步讨论。文中提出, 第三波民主化浪潮中的民主化主要 体现在形式的民主化上, 但是在韩国的民主化进程中有着某些 内在的实质的民主化诉求;尽管学者们为分析民主化的动力与 阻力而进行了大量的研究,但是并不存在着一个统一的民主化 动力和阻力模型, 只能结合各个国家的国情去具体分析各民主 化进程中的具体动力和阻力; 学者们一般都将民主化的发展阶 段分为民主化的开启、民主化的展开和民主化的巩固三个阶 段,但是在一些具体的划分上仍然还有不少分歧之处,由于韩 国民主化进程中存在着某种"滞后性问题",其民主化发展阶 段问题仍需要结合有关实施材料作进一步的探讨;总体上可以 把民主化的途径分为自上而下的民主化、自下而上的民主化和 在外国势力主导下的民主化这样三种大的途径, 在韩国的民主 化过程中似乎并不明显地属于哪一种; 民主化巩固中理论的某 些观点也需要在韩国的民主化进程中予以检验。

第三章为韩国民主化进程的背景分析。在这一部分中,本 论文分别从政治背景、经济背景、社会文化背景和国际背景、 个角度对韩国民主化进程的背景作出分析,来为各政治主体的 出场做好准备和铺垫。文中提出,韩国建国以来的政体在他历 上说是一种权威主义政权,这种权威主义政权在 80 年代代的 质是一种权威主义政权,这种权威主义政权在 80 年代代的 就已经达到了民主化理论家们所提出的易于出现民主化到的 段,分析韩国的民主化组现在 80 年代中后期时,要注意的 段,分析韩国已经呈现出了大量的分化,出现了一个比较大的 所是群体,在文化上韩国传统文化基本是由本土文化、儒教

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文化和新来的基督教文化三种成份构成,但是在建国以来随着 社会经济的发展,各种文化之间的组合发生了某些变化。国土 分治的背景在很长一段时间内都不利于韩国民主化的开启。

第六章为韩国民主化进程的阶段分析。本论文从总体上将 韩国的民主化进程分为这样三个阶段:即军事政权下的民主化 运动、六月抗争后的民主化运动和文人民主政府之后的民主化



发展。第一阶段中的民主化运动主要体现为在野势力、学生运动和反对党对军事权威主义政权的反抗;第二阶段中的民主化运动中卷入了中产阶层、基层民众和基督教势力,在各种政治动力的配合及国际压力的促进下,通过精英间的妥协而实现对政权的平稳过渡;第三阶段民主化发展的主要内容是铲除权威主义政权的消极影响,建立有利于民主政体的基本制度并肃清各种民主化的反对势力。



## Abstract

The Korea people have realized democratic change in the third wave of democratic tide after decades of struggle. The democratic process in Korea has shown some special features of its own. Thus a study of the Korean democratic process from the perspectives of political power play will not only substantiate and examine the theoretical pattern of the third democratic wave, but also help us recognize the features of the Korean democratic process, sort out the basic thread of the process and provide experience and lessons for the consolidation of democracy in Korea in the future and for the democracy of the East Asian countries within the same cultural circle. The thesis will discuss the themes and research methods in eight chapters.

The first chapter is the introductory part which centers on the purpose, significance and methods of the thesis. The writer believes that as the process of Korean democracy in the third wave differs from the democratization of many Latin American countries and countries in the Third World, it is especially necessary to reexamine the unique characteristics of the Korean democratic process according to Korean national situations. So far many scholars in Korea, China and Western countries have made much study on the Korean democratic process from different angles. This thesis will reexamine



the appropriateness of the theories in the democratic process by taking into consideration the existing research results. So this thesis attempts to reexamine the Korean democratic process from the perspective of political power play carried out between different political bodies and to form a new recognition of the Korean democratic process comprehensively.

The second chapter focuses on the theoretical basis of the Korean democratic process. The writer in this part reevaluates and summarizes the basic theoretical achievement from five aspects which include: the content and form of democracy; the motive power and obstacle of democracy: the phases of democracy: the ways and consolidation of democracy. The thesis points out that the democracy in the third wave is the democracy in form in the main with some substantial democratic demands. Though much has been done by scholars in analyzing the motive power and obstacles of democracy, there does not exist a unified pattern of motive power and obstacle, which could be only analyzed in accordance with the actual conditions of the countries concerned. Normally the scholars divide the development of democracy into three periods the start, development and consolidation of democracy. But they have differences in how to divide those periods. As the Korean democratic process has the problem of "falling behind", it is necessary to reexamine the democratic periods in connection with relevant materials. On the whole the approaches of democratization can be divided into three kinds; top - to - bottom, bottom - to - top and democracy under the direction of the overseas forces. However, the Korean democratic process seems not to belong to any of the three mentioned above and the theory of the consolidation of democracy needs to be



checked within the framework of the Korean democratic process.

The third chapter provides the background of the Korean democratic process. In this section, The writer explores the background of the Korean democratic process from the political, economic, social and international angles, thus paving the way for the introduction of different political entities. The writer argues that ever since the foundation of Korea, the political power has remained a totalitarian one. This power faced a serious crisis of legality at the beginning of the 1980s. The economic development of Korea reached the level liable to democratization mentioned by theorists in mid 1970s. Attention should be paid to the rise and function of the small and medium - sized enterprises when analyzing the democratization of Korea in the latter part of the 1980s. As far as social structure is concerned, Korea in the 1980s was much divided, with the emergence of a relatively larger group of the new middle class. Culturally, Korean tradition is composed of local, Confucian and the new Christian cultures. But following the development in economy and society, certain changes have taken place in the formation between different cultures. The division of the country as a whole doesn't help the democratization of Korea with in a long period of time.

The fourth Chapter analyses the motive power of the democratic process. The writer mentions here that the student movement has played a breaking and pioneer role in the democratic process. The forces not in office, masses and mass media have played a very active role in the process. The reaction against the establishment reached its peak in the mid 1980s. The middle class has adopted a double attitude towards democracy at first, but it assumed an anti – government pose in the late 1980s with an economic and social



decline and became the motive power. The immature political party system is largely responsible for the lack of motive power in the democratic process. But after 1985 the opposing parries in the Korean political arena increased their activities, providing good opportunities for pushing forward the development of democracy. The stable structure of Christianity and the increase in man — power also played an important role the Catholics and Protestants also contributed to the process.

The fifth chapter takes a look at the obstacles. The leaders of the totalitarian power, military bureaucrats and big capitalist class constituted the anti-democracy forces. The totalitarian leaders held fast to their positions and made amendment to the constitution to help their rules, establish rigid administrative system and suppress all kinds of activities and organizations promoting the democratic movement, The military had special background in its rise and development. Hie military bureaucrats are by nature order-obeying and anti - democracy. Under the totalitarian rule. The military bureaucrats degenerated into the tools for the totalitarian dictatorship. And the capitalist class grows up under the protection of the totalitarian government. Its intention of purging profits made it impossible for it to become the motive power for democracy. Besides, the existence and development pattern of the big capitalist class in Korea, to a large extent, had become the source of political corruption.

The sixth chapter describes the stages of the democratic process. The thesis mainly divides the process into three stages: democratic moment under the military regime; the democratic movement since the confrontation in June; the development of democracy



after the civilian democratic government. The first state describes the struggle waged by the forces not in office, students and the opposing parties against the military totalitarian government. The second stage shows the involvement of middle class, masses and Christian forces in the movement to bring about the smooth transfer of the government by reconciling the talents through the cooperation of different political organizations and international pressure. The third stage witnesses the eradication of the negative influence of the totalitarian government, the establishment of basic system favorable to democratic government and The elimination of all kinds of forces opposing democratization the seventh Chapter describes the characteristics of the Korean democratic process. The writer reassesses the process theoretically by bringing into consideration of the afore mentioned theory and evidence. The thesis points to two major processes in theory in terms of the stages of the democratic process: the period before the struggle in June 1987 for getting rid of the military totalitarian regime and the period after for establishing and consolidating the democratic system. In the development of democracy, the democratic process clearly demonstrates what the western scholars call "democratic retardation". The retardedness was caused by the lack of motive power and great hindrance at the beginning of the democratic process. And before and after the June struggle, due to the joint efforts of different forces at home and intervention abroad, the democratic transformation in Korea accelerated in the June struggle. A brand new democratic political culture appeared in the democratic process. But this new political culture still needs to be fostered and consolidated.

The eighth chapter elaborates on the achievement, limitation



and prospect of the Korean democratic process. I'm the concluding part, the writer points out that the biggest achievement of the Korean democratic process is the initial establishment of a democratic government and regulations for the peaceful transfer of the government, die elimination of elements unfavorable for the democratic development during the period of democratization and the establishment of the system supporting the democratic government. However there is still a lorry way to go toward the perfect and consolidated democracy from the present democracy which exists mainly in form supported by the talents. In the process of consolidating the democratization, Korea still needs to do away with the negative influence of the totalitarian regime and to establish a powerful system run by democracy and to strengthen the democratic system by absorbing international experiences.



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